25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

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25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

KAVA CEREMONIAL IN TONGA.

By E. E. V. Collocott.

THE comparative stability of ritual in the midst of changing opinions and interpretations has been often noted, and the ritual of *kava*-drinking at an important ceremony is doubtless the same to-day in essentials as it was a century or more ago, before the tide of European innovation had flowed over the Tongan Group.

The ceremoniousness with which *kava* is drunk varies, naturally, with circumstances; but even a little party of friends observes a fairly strict etiquette round a social bowl, and, on the other hand, important occasions, when king and great chiefs are present, have not all the same pomp.

The ruling house in Tonga is that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua are no longer conferred.[1] Some, at least, of the prerogatives of the Tu'i Tonga were transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, George Tupou I., on the death of the last Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, in 1865. Since this date the Tu'i Kanokupolu has enjoyed an undisputed supremacy. Inter-marriage has preserved the blood of the Tu'i Tonga in full stream in the veins of the present ruling house. George Tupou I., in a speech to his Parliament in 1875, said that the titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua had both been conferred by the chiefs upon himself, and he appointed two heads of these houses, Kalaniuvalu of the Tu'i Tonga house, and Tungi of the Ha'a-takalaua. These headships were made hereditary, but the ancient titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua have not been conferred upon their holders.

A Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring is a thing of the past, and although a good deal may still be gathered about points in which it differs from that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, which may be observed to-day, it would probably be impossible to reconstruct it in detail.

[1] See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 166-184.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TU'I KANOKUPOLU'S KAVA-RING.

276 574 643 123 115 I have been an onlooker on several occasions when the present Queen, Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, has drunk *kava* with her chiefs, including that of her installation as queen, and am, moreover, greatly indebted to Ata, the chief whose duty it is to see that the ritual is properly carried 643 out, for information he has given me. The Tu'i Kanokupolu 613 is the head of the Ha'a Ngata, the House of Ngata, and 565 in the full gathering are chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a 554 Havea, an offshoot of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Latuhifo, who are of the blood of the Tu'i Tonga, the Ha'a Vaea, which is called a representative name, *hingoa fakafofonga*, of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, and whose chief is Luani. There was a Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua named Vaea, and this house is perhaps descended from him. There are also two houses which are junior branches of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Ma'afu, and the Ha'a Ngata tupu, derivative Ha'a Ngata. This latter is comparatively recent, and its prominence dates from the Finau of Mariner's account. Finau, whom Mariner wrongly regards as the king of the group, was 613 the head of this junior branch. It is difficult to give the word *ha'a* precision of meaning as tribe, clan, or house. [575] Besides its application to the noble houses it is applied to other associations of people joined together by community of interest, blood, or occupation. However, its application to the great noble houses, each including several titled chiefs, is well understood.

276 574 576 643 644 613 565 The following diagram illustrates the structure of the *kava*-ring, and the principal positions in it—

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

STRUCTURE OF KAVA-RING.

Aloft

★ Tu'ivakano
★ Matapule
★ Fielakepa
★ Matapule
★ Lavaka
★ Matapule
★ Luani
★ Matapule
★ Nuku
★ Lauaki
★ King
★ Motu'apuaka
★ Niukapu
★ Matapule
★ Ahio
★ Matapule

Aloft

★ Ve'ehala

Fasi aloft

★ Ata

Fasi tapu

★ Kapukava

Fasi toua

Toua

○ Bowl

Fasi toua

★ Momotu

Fasi tapu

★ Vaha'i

Fasi aloft

★ Ma'afu

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25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

The ring is elliptical; at one end of the long diameter sits the king, and at the other is the bowl in which the drink is mixed, and from which it is served. On the right and left of the king are his two *matapule*, whom Mr. Hocart calls heralds, Motu'apuaka and Lauaki.[2] To the right of Motu'apuaka sits Niukapu, and to the left of Lauaki is Nuku. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Niukapu and Nuku are called the *Ulutolu*, Three-head. These three are all descended in parallel lines from the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, who is himself a son of the Tu'i Tonga. The first Tu'i Kanokupolu was Ngata, the eponymous ancestor of the Ha'a Ngata, who was the son, by a Samoan mother, of the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. 'Ngata went from Hahake, the eastern end of Tongatabu, to Hihifo, the western end; and Hihifo has always been the principal seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, until comparatively recently, when the capital has become Nuku'alofa. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'unga-tonga, about 1650, who was the father of Ngata, had a younger brother Vaoloa, whose son was Nuku, the first of this line. Similarly Mo'unga-tonga's son and successor Fotofili had a brother Halakitaua, whose son was the first Niukapu. Nuku and Niukapu and their kin are also said to be the Ha'a Latuhifo.

On the right of Niukapu is Ahio, followed by other chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata. To the left of Nuku is Luani, representing the Ha'a-takalaua in some way, and following him are chiefs of the Ha'a Havea, Lavaka, Fie-lakepa, and Tu'i-vakano. One informant assigned positions following these Ha'a Havea chiefs to the Fale Fisi, whose chiefs are the Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, Tu'i Lakepa, Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and Malupo. The Fale Fisi are descendants of the Fijian Tapuosi (the Tu'i Lakemba?), who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga, probably in the seventeenth century.

Although Tu'i Vakano belongs to the Ha'a Havea he seems to be connected in some way with Fiji.[3]

At no part of the ring do two chiefs sit together. Every chief is accompanied by his *matapule*.

[2] Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific*, American Anthropologist (N.S.), Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 631-646. See also his *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, pp. 42-51.

[3] Cf. Hocart, *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, p. 44.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

I am unable to give in detail the positions of all the chiefs; but there are three very important places on each side just where the ring curves round toward the bowl. This portion is called the *fasi*. The whole circle of chiefs and *matapule* is called the *alofi*. The *fasi* has three divisions, the *fasi alofi*, *fasi tapu*, and *fasi toua*, occupied, on the left, respectively by three chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata, Ve'ehala, Ata, and Kapukava; and, on the right, by Ma'afu, Vaha'i, and Momotu. Ma'afu and Momotu belong to the Ha'a Havea; but Vaha'i is a son of Nuku, and is said to have lived in Hihifo, at Foui, as the ambassador, *malanga*, of Nuku to the Tu'i Kanokupolu.[4] The present prominence of Vaha'i is probably due largely to the actual might of a Vaha'i who lived about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and who was the greatest warrior of his time, at a period when skill and strength in battle were a passport to authority. Kapukava has to-day no part in the *fono* (see below) of Ve'ehala, and Ata surmises that the reason is that his *fono* was given to Vaha'i.

Ata, who is said to *pule 'ae fonua*, rule the land, and has charge of all things pertaining to the welfare of the king, is, consequently, also said to *pule 'ae kava*, rule the *kava*. He sees that everything is done in order. He has the right to *ha'i 'ae alofi*, bind the *alofi*, which means that if he comes late to a *kava*-ring in which there is no room for him he sits apart; whereupon the chiefs stand up and spread out a little to make a place for him.

Grouped behind the bowl, or where the bowl will presently be, are the chiefs of the Ha'a Ma'afu, and inferior chiefs of the Ha'a Latuhifo and Ha'a Vaea. This is, in short, the position of younger brothers in general. It is called the *toua*.

Apart by himself, to the rear of the *toua*, in a line with the king and the bowl sits Tungi, the head *(ulu)* of the Ha'a-takalaua, and with much of the blood of Tu'i Tonga Fefine flowing in his veins. His connection with the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*-circle comes through his descent from Halaevalu Mata'aho, the sister of Taufaahau, King George I., the founder of the present dynasty, or of the dynasty in its present status. He is *hako'i fefine*, descendant

[4] Momotu lived in Kolovai (in Hihifo) as the ambassador of the Ha'a Havea to the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 574 576 643 565 [604] of a woman,[3] and is *fahu* to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The cup which goes to him is *kava he*, wandering *kava*.

It is said of the Ha'a Ngata tupu that they did not join the *alofi*, but that it was their duty to guard the *kava*-making for the king. There is, however, a man named Tolo, belonging to this house who drinks in the king's *kava* party. He was brought to drink of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*.

276 574 643 802 Before any *kava* is prepared for drinking presentations of food and *kava* are brought and placed before the king and chiefs. These are arranged in orderly rows, pigs, yams, etc., and *kava*, so as to be easily viewed. Motu'apuaka directs that they be counted. This is done by a man who walks along the rows of baskets, touching each in turn and counting in a loud voice. When he reaches ten a second man jumps up, holding a staff, and calls "one"; the first man continues counting to twenty, when the second man shouts "two," and so on up to one hundred, when the second man calls "ten," and a third man gets up, holding a staff, and shouts "one." So they go on, the first man actually counting, the second keeping count of the tens, and the third of the hundreds. Should the number of baskets go into the thousands a fourth man would join in. When the counting is finished the result is formally announced, so many pigs (distinguished by the way they are prepared and brought, which is some indication of size), so many plants, roots and bundles of *kava* (also distinguished by the way in which they are brought and size), so many baskets of yams, and perhaps other details are mentioned.

276 574 643 Then the presiding *matapule*, Motu'apuaka, orders the *toua* to be put in order, *fakalelei 'ae toua*, and all who do not belong to the *alofi* sit closely grouped in the *toua*. Motu'apuaka bids *kava* be brought, specifying what kind, i.e., what size of plant. This is brought within the circle, and placed at the *toua* end in front of the man who is to prepare the beverage. His place is in the middle of the front of the *toua*, directly opposite, and facing, the king. The *kava* is laid before him with the root toward him and the branches turned away. A man then loosens and divides the root into big sections by striking it with a sharpened

[3] See Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific*. American Anthropologist, Vol. 17, No. 4.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

stake. For the smaller sizes of root, those which may be carried on the shoulder of one man, and smaller, this man sits to his task; but for the larger sizes, those which are brought slung on poles or dragged on sledges, he stands. He does his work facing the king. When this is finished the *kava* is turned about, so that the root faces the king and presiding *matapule*. 276 574 643

Motu'apuaka then orders that the root, or portion of it, be broken up, proportioning the amount of *kava* to be prepared to the size of the assembly. Men sitting by the *kava* break off with stakes conveniently sized pieces, which they throw behind them into the *toua*, where they are scraped clean and beaten up small with stones. This grinding with stones is the modern substitute for chewing. A white man resident in the group long enough to have seen the *kava* chewed has told me that it used to be done by people with healthy mouths, usually, it would seem, by comely girls, that remarkably little saliva was mixed with the *kava*, and that he himself felt no difficulty in drinking *kava* prepared in this way. The duty of breaking off the pieces of *kava* from the root belongs to the family of Ata. If none of this family are available the prerogative passes to the family of Vaha'i.

When the *kava* has been beaten up one or other of two men, named Ma'ata-fahi and Tuakalau, both classed as sons of Kapukava, orders the bowl, *kumete* or *tanoa*, water, strainer, and cups to be brought. The same man had the duty of ordering the stake to be brought with which the root was divided in the first place. At this stage he also bids the bowl to be rinsed.

The bowl is placed in front of the man who is to mix and strain the *kava*, and the beaten-up root is placed in it. The bowl is three-legged, and at the top edge is a small protuberance with a hole in it, through which a cord is tied in a loop, to hang the bowl up when not in use. It is placed so that this hanger is away from the king and *matapule*, and toward the mixer. The mixer grasps two legs of the bowl and tilts it forward toward the *matapule*, so that he may see its contents, at the same time saying, *Koe kava e na'e holo*, There is the *kava* that has been broken. Motu'apuaka responds, *Kuo holo; tuku atu; tu'umalie pe. kae palu*, It is broken up; let go (i.e., let the bowl down on to its [415]

25: Colocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

legs again); it is all right, knead. And at the same time he says to two men who are sitting facing him, one on either side of the bowl, *Tafoki kimoua, 'o 'ai ha'amo vai,* You two turn, and put in your water. These two then turn inwards toward the bowl, and call for water, merely uttering the one word *Vai.* Water is brought and these two keep dipping it into the bowl, whilst the mixer thoroughly kneads and mixes *kava* and water. When the *matapule* sees that almost enough water has been poured in he calls *Vai taha,* One water, and one man ceases pouring in the water. The other goes on till he sees that there is sufficient water in the bowl, and then, whilst still allowing a trickle to run in, he turns toward the *matapule,* who understands the hint, and says, *Taofi 'ae vai; 'ai mai 'ae fau,* Stop the water; put hither the strainer (a bunch of hibiscus, *fau,* fibre). The man who has mixed then strains out the solid particles of *kava* with the fibre. There are different sets of movements in straining the *kava,* the simplest being merely the actions necessary to putting in the fibre strainer, gathering up the scraps of *kava,* wringing and shaking them out. There are at least two sets of movements, the *faka-mui-fonua* and the *milo-lua,* which are much more elaborate, embracing a long series of graceful movements with hands and arms. The movements are, at least to some extent, determined by the kind of *kava,* i.e., size of the root, employed.

The time of straining the *kava* is the occasion for distributing the *fono,* food accompanying the *kava.* Motu'apuaka has looked out one or two baskets from the food presented, usually selecting an *umu hula,* basket of food borne on two poles on the shoulders of four bearers. When the time comes for distributing the *fono* this basket is brought forward, and a pig taken out and cut up. The liver, which is placed over the hole in the belly through which he has been disembowelled, is first taken and laid before the king. The pig is laid on its back, sideways to the king, with its head to the right hand of the carver, who sits facing the king, if the carver is right-handed, and to his left hand if he is left-handed. First the hind leg on the side nearer the king is cut off, then there is a cut round the middle on that same side, round the neck and foreleg, without removing the leg. The pig is then turned over with its belly toward the king. The other hind leg is cut off, and the hindquarters, and a cut made across the back. The head is

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

carved off; the back is now taken, and finally the forelegs, taking that first which was first cut. The pig being now dismembered is arranged with all its parts in the same order as they are in the living animal. Whilst the pig is being carved the other food which is to be distributed as *fono* is displayed, and the yams counted. Then the *fono* is distributed. The distribution is said to depend on the number of yams; but what is meant by this is probably no more than that the number of yams in each portion depends on the total number of yams available for the purpose.

The actual distribution of the pig follows strict rules. The back of the pig is taken to the king; the head and one hind leg and one foreleg are for Lauaki and the chiefs and *matapule* on the left; the hindquarters and one hind and one foreleg are for those on Motu'apuaka's side; a yam and the chest of the pig are put in a basket and taken to Ve'ehala. This last portion is named the *vae-tolu*, third division.

These large portions of the *fono* are sub-divided and distributed to individual chiefs and *matapule*. The top part of the head is the share of Nuku, and the part of the hindquarters in which the tail is set belongs to Niukapu. The hind legs are more important than, are superior to, the forelegs. The hind legs are cut into three parts, and the hindquarters into four. The portion called *tutanga* (I do not know what part this is) is given to a chief, not to a *matapule*.

The portion which is taken to Ve'ehala is cut up at the direction of his *matapule*, who reserves pieces of yam and pig for Ve'ehala and himself, and the remainder is put back in the basket and taken to Ma'afu, whose *matapule* likewise takes a share for his chief and himself; and the basket is then taken in turn to Ata and Vaha'i, whose *matapule* take portions for their chiefs and themselves. The basket is then taken out of the ring, and the food remaining in it belongs to the *kau ngaohi fono*, which means literally, those who act upon, or with, the *fono;* but I have no record of who they are. Ma'afu's share in this particular *fono* is of recent date. Formerly he was on the right-hand side, nearer to Motu'apuaka, in whose *fono* he shared; but King George Tupou I. placed him in the *fasi alofi*, opposite to Ve'ehala, to bring the Ha'a Havea into more prominence. Ve'ehala's sharing in this *fono* dates from the time of Ata Mataila,

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

the second Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ve'ehala and Ata Mataila were brothers, and Ve'ehala's *fono* is not brought from the portion allotted to Motu'apuaka or Lauaki, but from that assigned to the king himself. But the *fono* is not eaten by those to whom it is given. After it has been distributed certain people who are *fahu* to those to whom the *fono* has been given come and take it away to dispose of as they like; they may eat it themselves or give it to whomsoever they will. Usually the *fono* is not eaten till after the *kava* ceremony is finished. Those who have the right of eating the *fono* are spoken of as *kai fono, fono* eaters. Some of the *fahu* of a chief are spoken of as *kau mokopuna 'eiki,* noble descendants, or noble grandchildren. *(Mokopuna* is the word used in translating the English "grandchild," but of course its Tongan meaning is not so restricted.) Not all *mokopuna* are *'eiki,* noble. (Mr. Hocart's distinction between nobles and chiefs, titled heads of houses, is necessary and convenient. The Tongan word for both nobles and chiefs is *'eiki,* but there is a third sense of *'eiki,* viz., superior in social rank. For example, one may say that such a one, a member of his family, is *'eiki* to him, i.e., superior to him in rank within the family; all the members of the family may be *'eiki,* noble, and some one or other individual may be the *'eiki,* the titled head.) Whether the *mokopuna* are noble or not depends on birth, doubtless on the rank of their mothers. One informant calls the *mokopuna 'eiki* those who are *'eiki,* socially superior, in their families. Children, *fanau,* do not eat the *fono,* but only *mokopuna.* A father is sacred, *toputapu,* to his sons and daughters; they must not touch his head or eat his food; but grandchildren are not bound by *tapu* in respect of their grandparents.

But although some may simply say that the *kau mokopuna 'eiki,* chiefly grandchildren, are those who eat the *fono,* others lay stress on the sister's son as pre-eminently the one who is *fahu.* The father's sister's son is also *fahu.* A very intelligent Tongan says that one cannot lay down a hard and fast rule as to who is especially *the fahu* in every case. A concrete example is that of Takai, a descendant of the daughter of Alea-motua, the Tu'i Kanokupolu who died in 1845, who is *fahu* and *kai fono* to the present Queen.

The *fahu* rights of the sister's son are clear; but the children of both sons and daughters have free access to

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily *fahu to* them.

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki*, which simply translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako*, of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.[6]

Foreigners, being exempt from the *tapu* binding on the native, may eat the *fono;* but when the descendant of a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's some women were sitting in the *alofi*, and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man.

Should there happen to be no *kai fono* in the assembly the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono*. After the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience.

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain speeches to be made by the *matapule*, mainly of a congratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a*, the sun is still in its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory

[6] *Hou'eiki matua*, noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua;* first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. *(Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

fakataputapu, an invocation of all those who might be displeased at the effrontery of one's speaking in so august an assemblage. The following is the full formula with which a speech should be begun on a ceremonial occasion before the Tu'i Kanokupolu: Tapu mo Mo'unga Motu'a (the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua), tapu mo Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga (the son of Mo'unga Motu'a), tapu mo Ha'a Moheofo (the Tu'i Kanokupolu and his chiefs), tapu mo Ha'a Latuhifo (Niukapu and Nuku), tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu (who seem to be the descendants of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ma'afu-'aetu'i-tonga), tapu mo Ha'a Vaca (Luani and his family), Pea tapu moe kano 'oe loto'a oe Hau 'aia ko Ha'a-teiho mo Lakepa mo Hoi mo Afitu (And *tapu moe* pith—flesh, heart, centre—of the compound of the King, namely Ha'a-teiho and Lakepa and Hoi and Afitu); pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata motu'a, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata tupu, pea tapu mo Ha'a Havea, pea tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha (old names of Motu'apuaka and Lauaki), pea tapu moe tangata 'o Tu'i Tonga 'oku fio he alofi 'oe Hau (and *tapu moe* Tu'i Tonga's man who mingles in the circle of the King), pea tapu moe Fale Fisi, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana (two houses of the Fale Fisi), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mu'a (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mui (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo ha'a fokololo 'oe Hau (and *tapu mo* servants (?) of the King), pea tapu moe alofi moe alofi (that is, both sides of the *alofi*), pea tapu moe fasi tapu moe fasi tapu (that is, the *fasi tapu* on either side), pea tapu moe toua 'eiki na, pea ka ai ha lea e mahehei kuo 'osi eku fakatapu kae ata keu lea (and *tapu moe* yon noble *toua*, and if there be a word that goes astray my *fakatapu* is finished and I am free to speak).

The corresponding formula for an assembly of the Tu'i Tonga is: Pea tapu moe 'Afio 'o Langi (And *tapu moe* Majesty of Heaven, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kelekele (the Tu'i Pelehake, a classificatory brother of the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kakai (King of the People, i.e., the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua), pea tapu moe Toua Hili[1] (the Tamaha), pea tapu moe Toua Ato (said to be

[1] *Toua hili* might mean behind the *toua*. Note that in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava* ring Tungi, who is descendant of a woman has a special place behind the *toua*. I have learnt nothing about the position of the Tamaha in the Tu'i Tonga's circle, but the Tamaha is also descendant of a woman, being the child of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

those whose mothers are noble on the side of the Hau, Tu'i Kanokupolu, and fathers are noble in the Tu'i Tonga family), pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mu'a (Tafolo, and perhaps Tamale), pea tapu moe Sina'e 'eiki, pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mui (perhaps Tamale, or Manumua and Lomu), pea tapu moe Tu'i Hoi, pea tapu mo (moe) Faoa Manafa. Koe ngata e tala 'o Fanakava kae ata kae fai hano tala (The end of the telling of Fanakava[8] and it is clear to make its speech).

Before the *kava* is distributed the presentations of food and *kava* are taken outside the ring. Motu'apuaka will probably order them to be taken for Lauaki, who will superintend their distribution, either personally or by a deputy. If there be a chief present whom it is desired to honour, for example a visitor, Motu'apuaka may order that these presentations be taken for his *matapule;* or Lauaki, in making the actual distribution, will see that he gets a large share. In such distributions the chiefs for whom portions *(inasi)* are designed are not named, but their *matapule,* and the *matapule* express thanks for the gifts. Visiting chiefs thus honoured will be expected to provide a good reception when, later on, they are visited in their own homes.

It will be recalled that three men are seated at the *kava*-bowl, one at either side, and one behind facing the king. The man on the side, in a line with the *matapule* who is directing operations says, when the straining is finished, *Kuo ma'a 'ae kava ni,* This *kava* is clear. The *matapule* responds *Tokonaki 'o fakatau,* Make ready and deal out. Then the cups, which have been in making whilst the *kava* was being brewed are brought.[9]

Of the two men seated at the side of the bowl one "calls," that is, calls out as each cup is filled; and the other removes the little pieces of *kava* that adhere about the rim of the bowl, usually employing a small piece of coconut-leaf

[8] Fanakava, so far as one can get information about it from living Tongans, is remembered mostly as a sanctuary. It is a very sacred part of the Tu'i Tonga's ground in Mu'a.

[9] Although cups of coconut-shell are used on lesser occasions the cups used at great ceremonies are of folded plantain leaf. The coconut-shell cups of Niua Fo'ou differ from those of other parts of the Tongan Group in having a hole near the edge through which is threaded a cord of twisted hibiscus fibre, to serve as a hanger.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

for the purpose, and using only the hand on the side nearer the king.

People come from the *toua*, each bearing a cup, and stand ready. The first approaches and holds his cup over the bowl, whilst the man who has brewed the *kava* wrings some of the beverage into it. The caller cries *Koe kava kuo hēka*, The *kava* is lifted. It might be better to say that the caller sings this; even on ordinary occasions this, and the *matapule's* response, are uttered in a musical chant; whilst on great occasions cry and response are drawn out much longer. Motu'apuaka replies, *'Ave ia ma'a Lauaki*, Take it for Lauaki. Lauaki claps his hands, and the cup is taken to him. The second cup is for Niukapu, and the third for the king.[10] The *matapule* orders the king's cup to be brought in different terms from those used for the other cups; he says, *Omai ia ki heni ma'a Tupou*, Bring it here for Tupou. So in other *kava* parties the cup for the highest chief present is ordered to be brought here, not taken, for the chief. Each cup as it is filled is called, a name given by the *matapule* for it to be taken to, and the person called claps to show his whereabouts. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh cups are taken in order to chiefs and *matapules*, alternating from one side to the other, to Nuku, to the *matapule* next Niukapu, to the *matapule* next Nuku, to Ahio. The eighth cup jumps to the *fasi alofi*, to Ve'ehala. The ninth cup returns to where the distribution left off to go to Ve'ehala, and three more are served on either side; then to the chief in the *fasi alofi* opposite to Ve'ehala, namely Ma'afu. Three more on either side, and then Ata, in the *fasi tapu;* three more on either side and then Vaha'i, in the *fasi tapu* opposite to Ata. Three on either side, and then to Tungi, out by himself behind the *toua*. Three on either side, and then to Tolo, who was brought from Vava'u to Tongatabu to represent the Ha'a Ngata tupu in the king's *kava* party. He sits in the *toua*. Then the *matapule* who is ordering the distribution has a cup brought to himself. He, however, does not at once drink it, but sits with it between his hands, resting on the ground. The distribution then goes on as before, three on either side, followed by a cup which "jumps," *hopo*. The distribution goes through all the *ha'a*

[10] At a comparatively informal *kava* party I have seen the first cup brought to the Queen.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

tribes, clans, represented, three on either side, with special chiefs marked by cups which "jump." Following the Ha'a Ngata come the Ha'a Ma'afu, of which Vaea drinks the first cup, or the principal cup, the Ha'a Latuhifo, the Ha'a Vaea and the Ha'a Havea. (This was the order given to me, but it can hardly be meant that this order of the *ha'a* is strictly followed, if it is followed at all, from the beginning, as obviously many of the chiefs of these *ha'a* must have drunk amongst the earlier cups.) If this does not complete the ceremony there will be a cup for a Ha'a Ngata chief or noble, one for the Ha'a Ngata tupu, and one for the Ha'a Ma'afu. This last will not be drunk by the holder of a title, but by a close relative, usually by some one classed as a younger brother of the king. So the distribution goes on, two threes, and special cups, "jumping" and designating the *ha'a*, in the same order.

When the *kava* is nearly finished the caller drinks, and after a few more cups his vis-a-vis, called *anga'i kava*, drinks his. If there is still sufficient *kava* it will be distributed amongst those in the *toua*, the *matapule* ordering the succession according to his judgment of rank. Finally Ata says to *toe kava*, remainder the *kava*, and the caller cries, *Koe toe kava e*, There is the remainder of the *kava*. The *matapule* replies, *Tuku ia ma'ae tau kava*, Leave it for the server of *kava*. The *matapule*, who has been holding his cup since it was given to him, then drinks. The server wipes the bowl with the fibre strainer, another man takes away the bowl, and the server drinks the cup which he has filled for himself. The two men at the side of the bowl turn and face the king. A man goes and brings away the *matapule's* cup, and when he has sat down again in his place in the *toua* Vaha'i, without rising, moves forward with two short slides, and says to the *matapule*, *Ko hono ngata e mau kava*, That is the end of the piece of *kava;* to which the *matapule* responds, *Hiki 'ae toua*, Remove the *toua*. Those in the *toua* then get up and go away. No one in the *alofi* must rise till the *toua* have gone. Then the *alofi* rise and leave.

During the ceremony the family, *fanau*, of Vaha'i see that order is maintained. They are the guardians of Ha'a Ngata.

Whilst the *kava* is being prepared Ata looks round to see that the chiefs are sitting in their proper places. When

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

When one has drunk his *kava* in the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*-ring he puts his cup down in front of him, whence it is taken and returned to the bowl to be refilled by the cup-bearers.

Ve'ehala, Ma'afu, Ata, and Vaha'i do not drink the cup brought to them, but hand their cups to their *matapule*, and when the *matapule's* cups are brought they hand these in their turn to their chiefs. The reason of this exchange is said to be to make sure that the *matapule* get *kava;* the chiefs know that they will not be left long without a cup.

There is a poem relating to the displeasure of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui, because a *matapule* intercepted a root of *kava* that was being taken to the king. The *matapule* maintained that, as the king's *matapule*, he was justified in taking the *kava* for himself. A *matapule* is entitled to the deference due to his chief. If the king's *matapule* is present at a *kava* ceremony when the king himself is absent the ceremony will be carried through as though the king were there, the *matapule* taking the king's place.

In the *kava*-ring chiefs are called by their own names to receive their cups, but in distributions of food and other gifts chiefs' names are never called, but their *matapule* are called as recipients of the gifts.

[351] If a chief and his *matapule* are alone, and desire to drink *kava*, the chief prepares and serves the drink. A chief would climb a tree to get a coconut for his *matapule* to drink. These are strictly private concerns when the chief and *matapule* are alone, and are called *faka-fale-puipui*, within the screened house.

Everybody receives his *kava* with two hands, and drinks holding the cup between his two hands. When a chief hands his cup to his *matapule* he passes it to him with one hand, but the *matapule* receives it with both hands. (Is there any connection between this and the two-handled beaker of some other cultures?)

Several *matapule* are said to be Samoans. Lauaki came to the Tu'i Kanokupolu from the Tu'i Tonga, and is said to be a descendant of Maliepo, one of the heavenly half-brothers of the first Tu'i Tonga, Ahoeitu, son of Eitumatupua, lord of heaven, and a mortal woman. Because Maliepo and his brothers in the sky murdered Ahoeitu, who was brought again to life, they had to serve him in one capacity or another when he became Tu'i Tonga. (See *Folk-lore*, Vol. 35, No. 3, p. 282.)

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

Kamoto, an important *matapule*, is the head of Fale Hakili, House of Hakili, said to be a Samoan house. He was brought to Hihifo when Ngata, the eponymous ancestor of the Ha'a Ngata, son of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua and a Samoan woman, was born. 624 613 829

Uhi was brought to Ata.

The Tu'i Kanokupolu has *matapule* in other parts besides Tongatabu; Kofe and Afeaki in Ha'apai, Fotu and Afu in Vava'u, Masila and Kaufana in Niua Fo'ou, Sika and Haufano in Niua Toputapu, Elili and Malala in Uvea (Wallis Island). 643 644

Different Sorts of Kava.

Different sizes of complete *kava* plants or portions of it, are brought and presented in different ways, and have distinguishing names. 276 574 576 482

1st. *Kava fua taha, kava* borne on the shoulder of one man. This is put down directly in front of the king, root toward him.

2nd. *Kava tofitofi*, divided *kava*, properly in bundles of ten. Several men bring this on their shoulders, and it is placed to the left of 1, roots toward the king.

3rd. *Kava no'o*, bound *kava*, small pieces tied in bundles of ten. Placed to the left of 2.

4th. *Kava ha'amo, kava* borne on a pole. A large root slung on a pole between two bearers, and placed to the right of 1.

5th. *Kava hula, kava* borne on two poles. This is still larger, and is slung on two poles carried by four bearers. It is placed to the right of 4.

6th. *Kava toho*, dragged *kava*, brought on a sledge of *fa*, pandanus wood, and placed to the right of 5. This seems to be placed upright on the sledge.

7th. *Kava fakatefisi, kava* in the *Tefisi* manner. This is the largest of all, and is brought lying on a sledge of *fa*, root forward, and the front of the root covered by plaited coconut leaf, called *fakatefisi*. (The same word is applied to a similar plait of coconut leaves in house-building. *Tefisi*, cf. Tahiti, Fiti, etc., is a place name in Tonga.)

All *kava* plants are placed before the king with the roots foremost. The specially elaborate movements of hands and arms in straining the *kava* belong properly to occasions when either of the two largest sorts of *kava* plant, or root, 276 [643]

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 is used. The straining for *kava toho* is *milo-lua*, double twist. To begin this the fibres for straining are picked up with one hand. For *kava faka-tefisi* the straining is *faka-mui-fonua*, land's-end-manner, to begin which the fibres are picked up out of the bowl with two hands.

INSTALLATION OF A CHIEF.

565 622 554 276 574 The essence of the installation of a chief is the calling him into his place in the *kava*-ring, to receive his cup by his new title. As a concrete example I was told that Ve'ehala was to be installed, and that at the *kava* ceremony he would sit in the *toua* whilst the *kava* was being prepared, and that when all was ready Motu'apuaka would say, *Koena 'a Ve'ehala, koe nofoanga e ki he tokelau*, There Ve'ehala, the seat yonder to the north.

At the installation of Ahio in January, 1920, Ahio sat next to Kioa, a classificatory younger brother of Motu'apuaka, who was absent. The first cup was given to Ahio.

INSTALLATION OF TU'I KANOKUPOLU.

643 Until recent years the Tu'i Kanokupolu was installed at a great *kava* ceremony in Hihifo, the old seat of this kingship. The Tu'i Kanokupolu has now become the constitutional ruler of the whole group, absorbing into himself both the titles of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, and the installation of the last two rulers has been at the [137] modern capital Nuku'alofa. On the green, *mala'e*, in Hihifo, [824] where the installation previously took place, stood three [644] trees, a *koka*, with an *orava*, banyan, on either side. The king sat with his back to the *koka*, and the banyans were [824] called Motu'apuaka and Lauaki, the *matapule*. A piece of [644] the ancient *koka* has been let into the back of the modern throne.

[276] [574] At the installation of the present Queen, in 1918, a coronation ceremony on the European model was followed by a native installation with appropriate *kava* ceremony [644] on the *mala'e* at Nuku'alofa. Before the installation of a [565] Tu'i Kanokupolu it seems to have been the practice for the [554] king-elect, Ata, and Ve'ehala to meet together that the king might be instructed by these two chiefs in his duties as guardian of the country. After the *kava* ceremony he was taken to a place near the *mala'e* in Hihifo, and received

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

further exhortation from Ata and Ve'ehala, but on this occasion each chief met and talked with the king separately.

On the following day there was another gathering on the *mala'e* for another *kava* ceremony, the *pongipongi tapu*.

On the night between his installation and the *pongi-pongi tapu* the king slept in the compound, *api*, named Le'ole'o, Guarding, Vigil, near the *mala'e*.

The positions of the chiefs and *matapule* in the *alofi* will be the same as that already noted. In connection with the installation of Her Majesty Queen Salote I was told that the position of Ulukalala, the chief of the Ha'a Ngata tupu, was behind the *toua*, and that, as he was absent, his cup was poured out on the ground in the place where he should have been sitting. A man of mixed Tongan and Samoan blood, who has spent some time in Samoa, says that in Samoa, in these Christian days, there is still a practice of pouring out a little *kava* on the ground to God. I think I have heard an old Tongan say that there was an old Tongan custom of pouring out *kava* to gods, and throwing a little up into the air to the gods who dwelt in the skies.

During the *kava* ceremony of the installation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu there are three speeches, delivered by Tovi, Fa'oa and Ata. The first, *tala toafa*, telling of the shore-flats, deals with the shell-fish; the second, *tala hakau*, telling of the reefs, deals with fish, especially with the *atu*, bonito. These speeches, whilst doubtless an exhortation to the people to do their duty to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, are also an exhortation to the Tu'i Kanokupolu to do his duty in taking the fruits of the shore and sea to the Tu'i Tonga. The third, *tala fonua*, telling of the land, deals with the face of the land, including an exhortation to the people to procure the trees to build the new king's compound and house, named Tangi-tu-langi, which another informant renders Tangi-atulanga. The compound was enclosed by several fences, one within the other, the building of which was apportioned amongst the chiefs. The chiefs and nobility forming the king's court had pieces of land round the royal compound. The names of some of these compounds have been taken by chiefs to other parts of the group, whither they have removed and formed settlements with their people.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 574 643 537 516 The speakers do not stand to deliver these speeches, but slide forward in two jerks, returning to their places by two backward slides when they have finished.

The mats and cloth where the king sits are given to Ata when the ceremony is finished; the king's clothing, 276 574 643 565 622 [431] *vala*, to Motu'apuaka and Lauaki. Whilst the *kava* is being prepared Motu'apuaka and Lauaki dispute about who is to distribute it. Originally, it seems, there was a contention in real earnest, which was finally brought to the test of who (or whose son) had slain most men in a battle. In this Lauaki won the pre-eminence, but later gave the honour up to Motu'apuaka, who still holds it. The traditional dispute, however, is part of the ceremony. When the water was ordered at the Queen's installation to mix the *kava*, a number of people jumped up and ran to fetch it. The water was brought from a tank, or other supply, at a little distance; and presently there was a crowd of runners, going and coming, between the water supply and the *kava*-bowl. None brought much at a time. Anyone who had a large container contrived to spill a considerable amount of the water he was carrying before he reached the bowl. In the midst of this bustle there was a certain amount of good-humoured splashing of those engaged in the task.

The explanation given of this custom is that it is to show how large a number of people are eager to fly in the service of the king. All sorts of receptacles are used now-a-days, including buckets, but it is said that formerly only small vessels, such as hollow bamboos, were used. The hibiscus fibre with which the *kava* is strained is supplied in seven portions, a portion each by the Ha'a Ma'afu, the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Havea, the Ha'a Ngata tupu, the Ha'a Ata (Tongatea of Ha'akame), the Ha'a Vaea (Luani of Vava'u), and the Ha'a Maofanga (in Hihifo; Latukefu has charge of this portion).

276 574 643 644 As the Queen moved onto the *mala'e* for her installation she was preceded by a man who ran ahead, brandishing a spear, crouching and looking round. His face was blackened, and he had the appearance of a scout or guard; but in his performance was a strong element of burlesque. The most extraordinary part of his behaviour was during the [576] [784] actual *kava* ceremony. He was free of all *tapu*, and his conduct, in other circumstances, would have been shockingly offensive. He smoked, lounged, and walked close

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

before and behind the Queen's person, and when the pig's liver was placed before her he impaled it on his spear, and ate it. This man is a Fijian (of course the amount of Fijian blood in this particular individual may be but little), belonging to the Ha'a Havea. His name is Moa, and the same man played the part at the installation of the present Queen and of her father. Moa is connected with Tu'i-vakano. Of the origin of Tu'i Vakano it is related that a Fijian couple lived with Mataele Ha'amea, the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. A son was born to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and given to the Fijian couple, becoming the first Tu'i Vakano.

It is said that a man named Soakai is allowed to eat and smoke in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Tonga chiefs, and he is said to have smoked in the *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II.

The Kau Fale-fa, the *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, were allowed to eat in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. It is probable that the exemption from ordinary *tapu* enjoyed by these is connected with the fact of foreignness, Moa being Fijian, Soakai also, as his name implies, and as is stated by tradition. He is a member of the Fale-fa. (See *Folk-lore*, Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 57.) The Kau Fale-fa, as *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, would be privileged in respect of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and tradition, moreover, assigns to them a Fijian descent.

The Tu'i Tonga's Kava.

Although the ritual of the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring was, doubtless, much like that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu procedure, there were certain differences. It is difficult to get to-day an exact description of the Tu'i Tonga ritual, but the following known differences from the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual may be noted.

In the first breaking of the root in large pieces the man doing this work in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring turns toward the king; but in the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring he turns away from the king.

The bowl was turned round the opposite way, so that the hanger pointed toward the king *(fuli taunga*, turning the hanger). The Tu'i Tonga received the second cup, not the third as the Tu'i Kanokupolu does. This cup was not called, but presented in reverent silence.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

The cups are called differently. The *matapule* in the Tu'i Tonga ring says, *Koe kava ia 'a me'a*, It is the *kava* of so-and-so. The cup-bearer informs the *matapule* that the cup has been filled, not a man sitting by the bowl as in the Tu'i Kanokupolu's ring.

In the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual the cup-bearer stoops as the cup is filled, and as he presents it to the one who is called; but in the Tu'i Tonga ritual the cup-bearer sits, both as the cup is being filled, and as he presents it to the drinker.

In the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring the *matapule* sit with their feet covered, hands clasped before them, resting in their laps, and formerly with index fingers together and extended. In the Tu'i Tonga's *kava* party the *matapule* need not cover their feet, and may dispose of their hands as they please.

Cup-bearers in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring may cross the ring, going or coming with full or empty cups; but in the Tu'i Tonga's ring it was not permitted to cross the ring. It is said that a space was left between the *alofi* and *toua* for the cup-bearers to pass, but it is not clear whether this implies that they had to go and come outside the ring, or whether they could skirt round just inside it. In any case it is implied that the Tu'i Tonga's *alofi* was *tapu* in a way in which the Tu'i Kanokupolu's is not. The *fono* is taken and eaten by certain *fahu* as in the case of the Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony. An informant mentions the Family of Ma'afu, *Fanau 'a Ma'afu*, whom he calls Rotumans, and the Kau Fale-fa, the *matapules* of the Tu'i Tonga, of Fijian descent, as being able to eat remains of the Tu'i Tonga's food. This, of course, does not imply that they are the people who may eat his *fono*. It is not likely that any living Tongan could reconstruct in its entirety the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring, giving the position of all the chiefs, or even of the principal ones; but the late chief Tamale said that his own position was in the *fasi tapu*. He added that the chief Tafolo was once of equal rank with the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua. In counting the baskets of food presented, in the Tu'i Tonga ceremonial the first basket only is touched, and the remainder merely pointed at. In comment on this it was said that the first basket is for the Tu'i Tonga himself, and he alone is chief. In counting the baskets at a

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony the counter touches each basket, using alternately the right and left hand. 276 574 643

Great as was the Tu'i Tonga, the Tama-ha, Sacred Child, the child, especially the daughter, of his sister or of his father's sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, was, by the ordinary rules of social precedence, his superior. This superiority was acknowledge by presentations of food, and presumably of *kava*. The basket of food taken by the Tu'i Tonga to the Tamaha was slung on a pole between two bearers, and by a fiction represented as borne on the king's own shoulder. A piece of native cloth was tied to the basket, and the Tu'i Tonga walked along, holding the end of this cloth. This was called the *ha'amo*, bearing on a pole, of the Tu'i Tonga.

Visits to Shrines.

The presentation and drinking of *kava* was an essential part of the visit and supplication to gods. The priest seems to have been the chief at such a ceremony; as the Tongan expression has it, the *kava* was his, or to him. 276 782 793

In visiting a shrine it would appear that even great chiefs did not disdain to serve the *kava*, and act as cup-bearers to the gods. An excellently-informed and elderly chief told me that Taufaahau, King George Tupou I., was serving the *kava* during a memorable visit to a shrine in Ha'apai, to which was attached a priestess. It was in the early days of Christianity, and Taufaahau avowed his nascent disbelief in the old gods by smiting the priestess in the throat, with the butt end of a coconut leaf, as she was drinking her cup of *kava*. 276 778 782 793 643

The late chief Tamale, an elderly man when I knew him, said that when *kava* was taken to the great god of eastern Tongatabu, Pulotu Katoa, who was especially associated with Nuku, the *kava* was presented, or the ceremony directed, to the god's priest Vakahi. Those who acted as *matapule* at such a ceremony were Ma'elo, a younger brother of Nuku, and Tamale, the son of Nuku's daughter. The representative of this god, or that through which the god came into rapport with the physical world, was a dog, and a dog lay beside the priest during the ceremony. 276 782 793 776 [825]

The offerings to a god would include food, cloth, mats, etc., and doubtless served to enrich the priests.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

PRIESTS.

276 574 793 643 The suggestion has been made that priests were free to sit in the *alofi* of all *kava* ceremonies. It is said that a living pastor of the Methodist Church, belonging to Ha'ano, of which island the chief alone, the Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and his *matapule*, have places in the *alofi* of the king's *kava* party, sat in the *alofi* at a *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II. When his position was challenged he claimed the right to be there as a *taula-'eiki*, priest, because of his status as a pastor in the Mission, and his claim was allowed. Doubtless this case illustrates the king's good nature rather than the cleric's inherent right, but points to ancient priestly privilege.

KAVA TO A TRAVELLING PARTY.

276 574 485 565 554 624 [431] The root is brought and placed before the leader of the travelling party, or man of highest rank amongst them. He thanks the donors for their gift, picks it up, and puts it down again. The *matapule* of the highest chief present, whether he is one of the travellers or not, calls for the *kava* to be brought to him, and has the whole, or portion, prepared and drunk. The piece of root not being beaten up and brewed, or some other piece of *kava*, lies before the *matapule* the while. When one round has been drunk he orders the piece of *kava* lying before him to be taken to the *matapule* on the other side of the chief (in important *kava* ceremonies of all kinds the highest chief has a *matapule* on either hand, other chiefs present have but one). This *matapule* will then supervise a second round of drinking, using the liquor left in the bowl from the first round, if there be enough, or ordering the pieces already strained out to be beaten up and used again, or having a fresh piece of root prepared. If there be a third round the piece of root and supervision return to the first *matapule*, and so on.

The passing of function from one *matapule* to the other is not confined to parties welcoming travellers.

276 574 565 624 In any *kava* party the *matapule* may at the point when it is announced that the *kava* is clear, *Kuo ma'a ae kava ni*, give away the *kava* that is in front of him to anybody in the ring, to do what he likes with. Guests are frequently so honoured. The *matapule* says, *Tauhi 'ae kava ni ma'a*

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

me'a, Take this *kava* for so-and-so; the person named, or his *matapule*, responds, *Fakafetai, Thanks.* Such a piece of *kava* is at the disposal of him to whom it is given; but if there be a shortage for the needs of present sociability he will probably have it beaten up and drunk.

FUAKAVA.

The word *fuakava*, translated to-day as oath, is said to have originated in the practice of settling disputes over the *kava*-bowl.

The heads of the family or families concerned would get the dissentients together, and, whilst *kava* was being prepared, go into the matter in dispute. Pleas and arguments on both sides were heard, the whole matter thoroughly ventilated, and ways of accommodation suggested. The *kava* was not drunk till a friendly settlement was reached. The first round of the drink taken in the re-established harmony was the *fua-kava*, said to mean literally first-*kava*. To drink of this *kava*, and afterwards to be disloyal to the agreement reached would make one *mala'ia*, accursed. The first cup is the *kava 'oe 'otua*, *kava* of the god, and was poured out on the ground.

GIVING OF KAVA.

During a time of war some generations ago the chief Niukapu sought sanctuary with the priest Kautae, who preserved the inviolacy of the sanctuary at the cost of the sacrifice of his own child. For this devotion Niukapu told Kautae to ask what return he would, and the priest requested the chief to give him his *kava*, i.e., the right to drink Kautae's cup in *kava* ceremonies. This was granted, and the right has been exercised freely. The name Kautae has been continued to the present day, and when one priest dies a new one is installed. In a *kava* party where both Niukapu and Kautae are present when Niukapu's cup is called Kautae may say, *Ha'u 'ae kava koe ki heni*, That *kava* come here.

Another right is illustrated by the claim that may be made by any man called Tapuosi on the cup of a Fale Fisi chief. The chiefs of the Fale Fisi, Malupo, Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, and Tu'i Ha'a-ngana have their descent from the Fijian Tapuosi, probably the Tu'i Lakemba, who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga in the seventeenth century.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 574 551 To-day if a man named Tapuosi be present in the *kava* party of a Fale Fisi chief he may call for the cup of the Fale Fisi chief to be brought to him. This calling is a sign of the claim to be a *tupuanga*, progenitor, of the one whose cup is called.

NAMES.

551 565 Chiefs have several names; the name or names by which they are known from infancy, or which are given to them later in life; hereditary titles, which do not belong to them till they have succeeded to, and been installed in, a chieftainship; and nicknames, *hingoa fakatenetene*, which are always of pleasant objects, very frequently of sweet-smelling and valued plants and flowers. These last are names of friendly and familiar intercourse, and would not be used in *kava*-drinking, except at an informal social party. A high chief compares their use to the use of Christian names among white people.

276 574 551 554 576 565 The proper name for a *kava* ceremonial is the title. Titles must be used only by the chiefs who actually bear them. An old lady, closely related to a previous chief Ahome'e, his daughter I think, who is customarily called by the name Ahome'e, much as we call a married woman by her husband's name, was turned out of the *alofi* of a *kava* party, because no relatives of Ahome'e are allowed in the *alofi*, but only Ahome'e himself. The same thing applies to all other titles. Sometimes the *matapule* does not know the names of all in the party, and has to make inquiries. Such questioning is done in a discreet, delicate way. The *matapule* usually asks in a low voice of someone sitting near him. In one of the Niuas (Niua Fo'ou or Niua Toputapu) such questioning is much more open, and the Tongans call faka-Niua, Niua fashion, the open asking and telling of names.

A European friend has told me that he has seen a youth, the son of the chief Tafolo, whose title had become almost a surname in everyday use by members of his family, give this name in a *kava* party, to find it disallowed. He was made to give some other name under which to have the *kava* served to him. This was in a comparatively informal friendly gathering.

The titles of *matapule* must not be used indiscriminately. At a *kava* party at which the Queen was present

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

a woman gave the name of Lelenoa, but this was disallowed, as she was sitting on the wrong (in this case on the right-hand) side of the ring. Lelenoa is a *matapule* of Tungi, and his proper place is on the left-hand side of the ring. Had the woman been sitting on that side the name, apparently, would have been allowed to pass. *Matapule* names may be transferred, but chiefs' titles may not.

In concluding this brief, and somewhat disjointed, sketch of an important ritual, of which an adequate treatment would involve an examination of the whole structure of Tongan society, and of much beyond, I desire to thank many Tongan friends to whom I am indebted for information, and especially Ata.

25: Collocott

OU9 Tonga OU9

613

[For an idea of the precedence of the various noble lineages or "houses" of Tonga, according to their ranking in kava ceremonies, see Category 576.]